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VOLUME XXVI, No. 23

MONDAY, APRIL 24, 1933

WHOLE No. 713

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Saturday Morning and Afternoon, April 29

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## THE USES OF PENDEO AND SUSPENDO IN LATIN POETRY

In this article I first roughly classify the uses of the verbs *pendeo* and *suspendo* that appear in Latin poetry earlier in date than Silius Italicus and Statius, and then show the more varied range of meanings and uses in which the verbs are found in those two poets. The most numerous and the most interesting uses are those which describe some kind of attitude or motion by an extension of the idea of suspension. The influence of tradition in Latin poetry has often been emphasized, and it is not surprising that many uses in given poets are found to derive more or less directly from those of earlier poets. Sometimes an expression is verbally reproduced. Sometimes words appear in different phrasings (e. g. *librata dextra tela suspensa tenent*, Seneca, *Phoenissae* 437 (Leo), *suspensa trahens libraret* vulnera, Statius, *Achilleis* 2.135, or *somnus penderet*, Propertius 4.7.5, *pendebat somno iam deteriore senectus*, Statius, *Thebais* 1.434). Sometimes the diction is kept while the thing described is different, as when Silius Italicus (12.532-533 *surgit suspensa tumentis dorso frugiferis Cerealis Anagnina glebis*) describes the position of a town perched on a height in the words used by Vergil of Camilla's light-footed running (*Aeneid* 7.808-811 *Illa vel intactae segetis per summa volaret gramina nec teneras cursu laesisset aristas, vel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tumentis ferret iter celeris nec tingeret aequore plantas*), a famous expression that inspired two passages of Statius (*Thebais* 6.640 *raptaeque non fracto vestigia pulvere pendet*, 8.109-110 *Quae mihi mens dum per cava viscera terrae vado diu pendens et in aere volvor operto!*).

Both *pendeo* and *suspendo* are used (1) in their literal meaning, (2) in extensions of that meaning, (3) in applied or metaphorical meanings.

With (1) we are not concerned here.

One common use that belongs under (2) is

(A) the use of the verbs to describe a man as 'hanging' from a rock, when he is chained to it or is climbing on it, or to describe a boulder precariously poised, or to picture similar situations. Compare Catullus 64.297 *pendens e verticibus praeruptis* . . . , said of Prometheus; Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.668-669 *te, Catilina, pendentem scopulo*, *Eclogues* 1.76 *pendere* . . . *de rupe*, 8.190 *saxis suspensam* . . . *rupem*; Ovid, *Epistulae Ex Ponto* 1.8.51 *pendentes* . . . *rupe capellas* . . . This use is developed by Lucan 2.697 *strictaque pendentes deducunt carbasa nautae* . . .<sup>1</sup>

(B) Another use, which perhaps should be counted as 'literal', involves the meaning 'to overhang'. Ex-

amples are Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.166 *scopulis pendentibus antrum*; Tibullus 4.1.23 (3.7.23) *pendentique super claudantur ut omnia caelo* (this is in the Panegyricus Messalae); Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 13.810-811 *vivo pendentia saxo antra* . . . . *Ars Amatoria* 1.620 (said of an overhanging bank: *pendens liquida ripa subitur aqua*); Seneca, *Hercules Furens* 718-719 (Leo) *vasto specu pendent tyranni limina* (there is inversion here); probably Lucan 8.797-798 *Situs est qua terra extrema refuso pendet in Oceano*; Valerius Flaccus 2.332-333 *Ventum erat ad rupem cuius pendentia nigris fumant saxa iugis* . . .

(C) The words are used of a person leaning, or of things prevented from falling or actually held aloft, or of things prevented from closing. Compare Lucretius 5.1069 *suspensis* . . . *dentibus*; Vergil, *Aeneid* 10.586 *pronus pendens in verbera*; Ovid, *Amores* 1.7.57 *suspensae lacrimae*; *Consolatio Liviae* 114 *suspensas <lacrimas> oculus fortior intus agit*; Ovid, *Fasti* 6.338 *fert suspensos corde micante gradus* (said of Priapus walking on tiptoe); Seneca, *Oedipus* 1048 *suspensa plantis efferens vestigia*, *Phoenissae* 437 *librata dextra tela suspensa tenent* (said of right hands held aloft).

(D) The words are used frequently of bodies floating or hovering in the air. Compare Lucretius 3.196 *aura* . . . *suspensa levisque* (said of the breeze itself); Vergil, *Aeneid* 7.810 *fluctu suspensa tumentis* (said of Camilla running at full speed); Propertius 1.20.27 *suspensis palmis* ('hovering arms'; the expression is sometimes taken to mean 'arms raised upward'); Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.616 *super Libycas penderet arenas*, 2.726 . . . *love natus <= Mercurius>* . . . *aethere pendens non secus exarsit quam* . . .

(E) Special uses. Here we may put Vergil, *Georgics* 1.68-69 *si non fuerit tellus fecunda* . . . , *tenui sat erit suspendere sulco*, though this should, perhaps, be classified under B above, for the ridge of earth is raised and is left 'hanging over' the furrow. Mr. Page adds, "the ridge which it forms not sinking down under the weight of earth owing to the furrow being shallow . . .", but the earth turned up would in any case overhang the furrow.

In Horace, *Epodes* 5.36-37, *quantum exstant aqua suspensa mento corpora*, the verb is used of floating in water.

In Propertius 1.20.29-30 *Ille sub extrema pendens secluditur ala, et volucres ramo submovet insidias*, *pendens*, used of Hylas, is to be interpreted as = 'hanging' from the wing of one of the brothers (Zetes and Calais).

Propertius uses *pendeo* in its literal meaning in interesting ways, (1) of Scylla dragged along by Minos's ship, 3.19.26 *pendet Cretaea tracta puella rate* (compare Vergil, *Aeneid* 12.374 *dum trahitur pendetque*

<sup>1</sup>Compare Vergil, *Aeneid* 10.303 *dorso pendet iniquo <puppis>*; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.746 *pendentibus aequore nidis*, *Heroides* 19.150 *corpus Leandri pendet aquis*; Lucan 3.490 *aries suspenso fortior ictu* . . .

iugis); (2) of a lover climbing to his mistress, 4.7.17 demisso... fune pependi.

A further development of the idea of suspension is seen in two passages: (1) in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.233 nec opertum pendeat alga <litus>, the seaweed makes the beach 'hang loose', i. e. lack a solid foundation; (2) in Lucan 3.396-397 ut cum terra levis mediam virgultaque molem suspendant, the reference is to the light brushwood 'hanging loose' in the middle of a wooden tower built by Caesar as part of his siege-works at Marseilles.

The metaphorical uses of *pendeo* and *suspendo* are common enough. A few examples may be given: Terence, *Adelphoe* 226 animus tibi pendet (this is common in Seneca: see e. g. Thyestes 423-424 Quid, anime, pendes quidve consilium diu tam facile torques?, Oedipus 594 pendens Metus, 795-796 Metuis parentem, quae tuum reditum expetens sollicita pendet?, Catullus 64.69-70 toto ex te pectore, Theseu, toto animo, tota pendebat perdita mente; Vergil, *Aeneid* 4.79 pendet... narrantis perdita ab ore; Tibullus 2.1.77 pedibus praetemptat iter suspensis timore (compare Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.727 sonus excitat omnis <me> suspensum..., 5.827-828 Aeneae suspensam blanda... gaudia pertemptant mentem, 6.722 Dicam equidem nec te suspensum, nate, tenebo); Ovid, *Fasti* 3.680 pendet ab officio spes mihi magna tuo. There is also the use of *suspendo* in Horace, *Sermones* 1.6.5-6 naso suspensis adunco ignotos, 2.8.64 suspendens omnia naso. The Vergilian expression *pendent opera interrupta*, *Aeneid* 4.88, probably explains Propertius 4.7.5 cum mihi somnus ab exsequiis penderet amoris...

Most of these uses appear in Lucan. Thus *pendeo* = 'to depend on', 5.685-686 cum tot in hac anima populorum vita salusque pendeat...; 'to be doubtful', 'to be perplexed', 10.542 Captus sorte loci pendet...; 'to hang in the balance', 6.632 Fata peremptorum pendent iam multa virorum..., 9.19 ubi pendebant casus...; 'to be left in doubtful position', 4.47 victor... pependit (Mr. J. D. Duff, in *The Loeb Classical Library*, translates here by "remained on the hill...").

The classification of uses given above applies more or less to Manilius. In his poems there are naturally many allusions to heavenly bodies 'suspended' or 'poised' in air. In two passages *pendeo* is used of swimming (5.398 pendentem... caeco captabit in aequore piscem, said of a fish, 5.430-431 summis... accumbet in undis pendebitque super, said of a man). In 4.265 peregrinantes domibus suspendere rivos there is an anticipation of Statius, *Silvae* 1.5.27-28 vaga... unda crescit et innumero pendens transmittitur arcu (said of water in pipes [= aqueducts] above the ground). In two passages Manilius plays on the physical and the metaphorical meanings: 5.608 animoque magis quam corpore pendet (said of Perseus in his fight with the monster), 5.656 pendens populum suspendet ab ipso (said of a rope-walker).

In Silius Italicus both *pendeo* and *suspendo* are used with a wide range of meanings. Thus *pendeo* appears in uses involving extensions of its literal meaning, so that it means

- (1) 'to be precariously perched': 1.128 cuius in aerio

pendent tua vertice castra; 3.129-130 promota ratis, pendentibus arbore nautis, aptabat sensim pulsanti carbasa vento... (from Lucan 2.697 strictaque pendent deducunt carbasa nautae); 5.497 pars trepidi celso inter tela cacumine pendet; 6.643-645 arva petebat Hannibal, excelso summi qua vertice montis devexum lateri pendet Tuder...; (2) 'to hover': 13.327 pendentis similis Pan...; 11.467-468 positoque volatu non mota volucris captiva pependit in aethra; 17.357-358 neque ego... pendentis nube resedi...; 16.483 pendentque faventes unguibus (= 'to be on tiptoe').

(3) There is an extension of the literal meaning in 2.435-436 pendet sub imagine poenae Regulus... (this is probably from Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.668-669 te, Catilina, pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem; compare Catullus 64.297 pendens e verticibus praeruptis [said of Prometheus]).

(4) The verb *pendeo* also = 'to lean': 8.281 praeceptis trepida pendens in verbera planta (from Vergil, *Aeneid* 10.586 pronus pendens in verbera); 16.385-386 usque ad colla repente protentus et in capita ardua pendens...;

(5) 'to float': 17.272-273 ratis aetherias remeavit ad auras et fluctus supra, vento librante, pependit;

(6) 'to impend': 6.323 piceaque e nube ruinam pendentem terris pariter pontoque minatur (compare 5.190-191 Horresco ut pendente malo...); 9.325-326 caelumque et sidera pendens abstulit ingestis nox densa sub aethere telis;

(7) 'to depend': 4.301 una spes anima tantusque pependerat ardor;

(8) 'to hang in the balance': 1.581 Rerum omnes pendent actus<sup>2</sup>.

*Pendeo* is used also

(9) of a rolling wave on the verge of breaking: 1.469-470 fluctus suspensum in terras portat mare...;

(10) of panting flanks: 5.256 subsidensque ilia nisu conantis suspensa fodit. Here the word describes the effect of the indrawing of the breath;

(11) of horses drawn sharply back, so that they are 'hanging' on the reins (this is an extreme application of the literal meaning): 4.144 suspendunt cuncti frenis sublime reductos cornipedes...

A still greater development of these uses appears in Statius. The verb means

(1) 'to be poised' or 'to be precariously perched'. In this sense it is used (a) of a climber, Thebais 1.332 scopuloso in limite pendens; (b) of the sea in a storm, Thebais 5.368-369 totumque Notis certantibus aequor pendet... (compare Silius 1.469-470 fluctus suspensum in terras portat mare); (c) of a roof, *Silvae* 1.2.152 pendent innumeris fastigia nixa columnis; (d) of a bird placing a nest, *Achilleis* 1.213 domum suspendat inanem...

A development of (c) is the idea that a cave tunnelled through a mountain-side 'suspends' the mountain over its arching vault: *Achilleis* 1.106-107 Domus

<sup>2</sup>*Suspendo* is used in like ways: 3.556 castraque praeruptis suspendunt ardua saxa; 12.94 suspensum librans inter nubila corpus; 15.614 suspensa ferens vestigia. The diction of Vergil, *Aeneid* 7.810-811 mare per medium fluctu suspensa tument, said of Camilla, is found in 12.532 surgit suspensa tumentis dorso frugiferis Cerealis Anagnia glebis. A metaphorical use of *suspendo* appears in 5.83-84 suspensa... eventu pugnae natorum pignora, and in 15.457.



ardua montem perforat et longo suspendit Pelionarcu; Thebais 6.882-883 si tremuit suspensus ager sub itumque fragorem rupta dedit tellus (said of a mining gallery).

(2) The verbs mean 'to be poised' or 'to be hovering', of motion: (a) of footsteps, Thebais 6.640 raptaque non fracto vestigia pulvere pendent (compare Vergil, Aeneid 7.810-811 mare per medium fluctu suspensa tumenti ferret iter...); (b) of Pegasus, Silvae 2.7.4 pendentis bibit ungulae liquorem (compare Thebais 3.505 liquidoque polum complexa meatu pendent... [said of a bird]); (c) of the Earth, 8.310-311 te velox machina caeli aere pendentem vacuo; (d) of Iris gliding to earth on a rainbow, Thebais 10.83 in terras longo suspenditur arcu; (e) of Sleep, Silvae 5.4.19 leviter suspensio poplite transi (compare Thebais 3.463 inde ferebant nubila suspensio celerem temerasse volatu Persea...); (f) of tiptoe flight, Silvae 2.3.13-14 fuga suspensa per agros Caelica tecta subit (compare 6.570: here, however, no motion is expressed).

(3) Once *pendeo* = 'to wrestle' (said of men): Thebais 6.862 pendent per mutua fulti braccia...

(4) The verbs = 'to be lifted up', 'to be kept from falling' (said of things): Thebais 5.340 suspensis siluerunt aequora tonsis; Achilleis 1.870 te tua suspensis expectat Graecia signis; 9.542-543 itque per Aonios alte mucrone corusco suspensam ostentans galeam et clamore superbit; Silvae 3.2.52-53 nequeo... claudere suspensos oculorum in margine fletus (compare Thebais 12.32 ruunt planctu pendente et ubique parato...).

Some uses are clearly derived from former poets.

(5) Thebais 4.117-118 litora multo vomere suspendunt (from Vergil, Georgics 1.67-68 tenui sat erit suspendere sulco...).

(6) Thebais 7.432 frenis suspensus et armis ('kept above water': from Horace, Epodes 5.36-37 cum prominere ore quantum exstant aqua suspensa mento corpora);

(7) Achilleis 2.135 quo suspensa trahens libraret volnera tortu (from Seneca, Phoenissae 437 librata dextra tela suspensa tenent);

(8) Thebais 6.473 longi suspendunt ilia flatus (from Silius Italicus 5.255-256 Subsidiensque ilia nisu conantis suspensa fodit.);

(9) Thebais 6.504 secum alte suspendit equos (from Silius Italicus 4.144-145 suspendunt cuncti frenis sublimem reductos cornipedes...); 9.285-286 aera pendens verberat (said of a horse rearing);

(10) A common metaphorical use is found in (a) Thebais 7.122-123 dubiumque in murmure volgas pendet (compare 3.610-611 tot ferro accinctae gentes animisque paratae pendemus?), and (b) Thebais 9.888-889 tu tamen arte pia trepidam suspende diuque decipito, 3.106-107 Cirrhaeaeque virgo gaudebit tacito populos suspendere Phoebos, 5.168 praecipitat suspensa fugam (said of a frightened deer), 7.505 suspensaue bellum horrescit pietas;

(11) 'to depend from': Silvae 5.3.125 natalis origo pendet ab ambiguo geminae certamine terrae.

Finally, three uses are specially noteworthy.

(12) The verb = 'to be swept along', Thebais 8.109-110 Quae mihi mens, dum per cava viscera terrae vado

diu pendens et in aere volvor operto! (said of a person scarcely touching the ground. This is a development of Vergil, Aeneid 7.810).

(13) In Thebais 5.384 suspensaeque carent conamine vires, *suspendo* is used of men fighting on board ship and therefore unbalanced, so that they sway, and are, so to speak, left in the air when the ship lurches. This is an extension of the use that expresses the idea of 'hovering' or 'floating' in the air.

(14) In Thebais 1.434 magnis cui sobria <saucia, Lachmann> curis pendebat somno iam deteriore senectus, we have, certainly, a difficult use of the verb *pendeo*. We can best explain the use by comparing Propertius 4.7.5 cum mihi somnus ab exsequiis penderet amoris, where the meaning is 'was interrupted'. In Statius the verb has *senectus* as its subject, but must be taken closely with *somno deteriore*. One may render by 'was fitful in worse sleep', i. e. 'was in fitful, broken sleep'. In The Loeb Classical Library version I have translated by 'age... held him in broken fitful slumber'.

The uses in Ausonius show no particular originality. There are (1) two passages in which the meaning 'to be precariously perched' appears: 334.284 (= Peiper, Teubner text, page 131) pendent saxis instanti culmine villae, 398.30 (= Peiper, page 230) tecta Baianis pendent fluitantia pilis <palis, Peiper>.

(2) In 334.20 (= Peiper, page 119) *pendeo* is used of 'hanging' banks: culmina villarum pendentibus edita ripis (compare Vergil, Aeneid 1.166, where the verb is used of 'hanging' rocks, scopulis pendentibus antrum).

(3) In 361.7 (= Peiper, page 410, line 3 of page) Vidi concretas per gramina flexa pruinās pendere, *pendeo* is used of the rime hanging from the bent grasses.

(4) In 325.59-62 huius in excelso suspensum stipitem Amorem devinctum post terga manus adficiunt (an emendation is *affigunt*), *suspendo* is used of Cupid hung on the cross (see Peiper, page 112).

Claudian for the most part has metaphorical uses of these verbs:

(1) 15.525-526 (1.136<sup>4</sup>) prorisque reductis suspensa Zephyros expectant classe faventes; 26.457 (2.158) mentem suspensa silentia terrent; 36.260-261 (2.364) Haeret adhuc suspensa Ceres et singula demens... timet, 21.69-70 (1.368)... maturae virginis aetas urgebat patrias suspensio principe curas quem simul imperioque ducem nataeque maritum prospiceret...

(2) In 15.74 (1.104<sup>4</sup>) tanta suspendit fata ruinae (said of a Moor), 15.262-263 (1.116) quamvis discrimine summo proditor apportet suspensa morte salutem..., *suspendo* = 'to delay'.

(3) In 44.77 (2.228) stipatque volantem alituum suspensa cohors (said of birds attending Phoenix), *suspendo* = 'to hover'.

(4) In 10.116 (1.250) suspensus in oscula matris, *suspensus* = 'leaning', 'hanging'. This passage comes originally from Vergil, Aeneid 10.586; there is, also,

<<sup>4</sup>The reference here is to Decimi Magni Ausonii Burdigalensis Opuscula, edited by Rudolph Peiper (Leipzig, Teubner, 1886). C. K.>

<<sup>5</sup>The references given, here and below, in round brackets are to The Loeb Library edition and translation of Claudian, by Maurice Platnauer (Two volumes, 1922, 1923). C. K.>

perhaps, a reminiscence of Propertius 1.20.27 *suspensis palmis*, 'uplifted (hovering) arms'.

(5) In 18.207-208 (1.154) *certantum saepe duorum diversum suspendit onus*, *suspendo* = 'to poise', 'suspend in the balance'.

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### THE PERUSINE WAR<sup>1</sup>

A difficult task lay before the young triumvir Octavian when he returned from Philippi in the spring of 41 B. C. To him had been assigned the distribution of land allotments to the victorious veterans. Naturally, he expected discontent and opposition from the Italian cities affected by the allotments. More serious by far, however, was the antagonism which came from an unexpected quarter. Lucius Antonius, the ambitious brother, and Fulvia, the virile wife, of Marcus Antonius, the victor of Philippi, had no intention of relinquishing to Octavian the control of affairs in Rome and Italy while Marcus Antonius was in the East. The former, who was consul with Publius Servilius, thirsted for a share of his brother's power; the latter, no less ambitious, was perhaps also influenced by the desire to attract the attention of her husband, who was beginning to succumb to the charms of Cleopatra. Together Lucius and Fulvia hoped to succeed where Marcus had failed in 44 B. C., i. e. they hoped to sweep Octavian aside and to establish their family in sole power. Their plan was to assail the authority of Octavian by placing every obstruction in the way of his assignment of land allotments. The conservative element in Rome and the Italian landowners flocked to the standard of Lucius and Fulvia. Octavian, whose position was none too secure, was inclined to be conciliatory, but all efforts to secure harmony came to naught. Civil war was imminent<sup>2</sup>.

The military advantage was, at the moment, decidedly on the side of Lucius and Fulvia<sup>3</sup>. Besides six legions which Lucius commanded as consul, there were eleven legions in Cisalpine Gaul and Narbonese Gaul, commanded by Fufius Calenus, Ventidius Bassus, and Asinius Pollio, lieutenants of Marcus Antonius<sup>4</sup>. Octavian's troops were limited to four legions at Capua,

the praetorian cohorts, and six legions which he had already despatched to Spain under Q. Salvidienus Rufus<sup>5</sup>. Many veterans, however, joined Octavian. Recruits were raised by both sides<sup>6</sup>.

I have nowhere seen a satisfactory account of the manoeuvres which preceded the siege of Perusia. Although I am ready to admit, with Ferrero<sup>7</sup>, Kromayer-Veith<sup>8</sup>, and Holmes<sup>9</sup>, that the accounts in the ancient authorities are fragmentary and confused<sup>10</sup>, I believe that a logical sequence of events can be established by a critical analysis of the sources.

After some desultory manoeuvres<sup>11</sup>, Octavian, having put Rome in charge of Lepidus, left the city. Failing to win over two of Lucius's legions which had mutinied at Alba Longa<sup>12</sup>, he proceeded to Nursia, in the northern part of the Sabine country. There he defeated the garrison before the town, but he was repulsed by reinforcements which had been brought up by Tisienus Gallus<sup>13</sup>. He then fell upon the rear guard of Furnius, who was bringing up additional reinforcements to Lucius, drove him to Sentinum in Umbria, and laid siege to the camp of Furnius and the city of Sentinum itself<sup>14</sup>.

Meanwhile, Lucius had swooped down upon Rome from his headquarters at Praeneste, and, when Lepidus, in consequence of this movement, fled to Octavian, the people welcomed Lucius. The latter denounced Octavian as a public enemy, and succeeded in inducing the people to vote to himself the privilege of leaving Rome on an indefinite military mission<sup>15</sup>. Informed of the seizure of Rome, Octavian hastened toward Rome, in order to expel Lucius. On his approach Lucius quickly left the city with the intention of joining Antony's lieutenants in Gaul, and Octavian was able to enter Rome without striking a blow<sup>16</sup>. Octavian pursued Lucius for a distance, but presently returned to Rome to settle matters there, leaving his friend Agrippa to continue the pursuit of Lucius<sup>17</sup>. The latter raised more troops among the cities colonized by his brother's veterans, and strengthened their fortifications<sup>18</sup>. Dio relates, very briefly, that, on his way

<sup>1</sup>In citing various works in the following notes I have given titles at times in abbreviated form: Domaszewski = Alfred von Domaszewski, *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiser*, 1 (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1909); Ferrero = Guglielmo Ferrero, *The Greatness and Decline of Rome*, 3, Translated by A. E. Zimmern and H. J. Chaytor (New York, Putnam's, 1909); Gardthausen = V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und Seine Zeit*, 2 volumes (Leipzig, Teubner, 1891-1904); Holmes = T. Rice Holmes, *The Architect of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1928); Jung = Julius Jung, *Perusia nach dem Bellum Perusinum*, *Wiener Studien* 19 (1897), 265-281; Motte = Adhémar François Motte, *Étude sur Marcus Agrippa* (Gand and Paris, Muquardt, 1872); Nissen = Heinrich Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde*, 2 volumes (Berlin, Weidmann, 1883-1902); Schiller = Hermann Schiller, *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, 1, Part 1 (Gotha, Perthes, 1883); Shuckburgh = E. Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, *Augustus* (London, Unwin, 1903). The references to Appian are to his account of the Civil Wars, which I cite from the edition of Ludwig Mendelssohn, *Appiani Historia Romana*, Editio Altera by Paul Vireck (Leipzig, Teubner, 1905).

<sup>2</sup>For the events preceding the outbreak of war see Gardthausen, 1.188-200, 2.88-93; Holmes, 92-95; Ferrero, 3.219-233; Domaszewski, 1.90-95; Schiller, 1.77-81.

<sup>3</sup>Schiller, 1.81.

<sup>4</sup>Appian 5.24.95. Ventidius Bassus was Governor of Gallia Comata, Fufius Calenus Governor of Gallia Narbonensis. See L. Ganter, *Die Provinzialverwaltung der Triumvirn*, 9-10 (Strassburg, Kayser, 1892. This is a dissertation).

<sup>5</sup>Appian 5.24.97. Calenus was to have turned over two legions to Octavian, but failed to do so (Appian 5.12.46, 20.80; Dio 48.2.3). One legion Octavian was forced to send to Brundisium (Appian 5.27.105).

<sup>6</sup>Appian 5.27. 73.234. <sup>7</sup>Schlachten-Atlas zur Antiken Kriegsgeschichte, Römische Abteilung, 121 (Leipzig, Wagner and Debes, 1922-1929).

<sup>8</sup>95-96. <sup>9</sup>We are forced to rely for details solely upon Dio Cassius and Appian.

<sup>10</sup>Appian 5.27.105; Dio 48.13.1. <sup>11</sup>Appian 5.30.115. <sup>12</sup>Dio 48.13.2. Appian does not mention this incident.

<sup>13</sup>Appian 5.30.116; Dio 48.13.2. Sentinum was a strategic point. Possession of this city meant control of the Scheggia Pass in the Apennines, through which led the Via Flaminia, the main military highway to Gaul. See Nissen, 2.386; Philipp's article Sentinum, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Zweite Reihe, 2.1508-1509. <sup>14</sup>Appian 5.30-31.117-119; Dio 48.13.3-5.

<sup>15</sup>Dio 48.13.4-5; Appian 5.31.119. Appian states that Lucius marched *ἐπὶ τὸν Καλαρὰν* but Appian appears to have misunderstood the motives in the campaign. Lucius could hardly have missed Octavian when he left Rome, if he had intended to proceed against him. I have more faith in Dio (48.14.1), who says, *ὁρῶντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν*. Domaszewski has no authority for his statement (1.96) that Lucius intended to make a junction with Furnius, nor is there any support for the assertion of Motte (33) and Tenney Frank, *A History of Rome*, 344 (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1923), that Agrippa directed the seizure of Rome.

<sup>17</sup>Dio 48.13.5. We are not told where Agrippa was previous to this time. We may conjecture that he accompanied his friend in the attacks upon Nursia and Sentinum. <sup>18</sup>Appian 5.31.119.

north, Lucius was blocked (by whom, or where, Dio does not say), and was forced to turn aside to Perugia, where the lieutenants of Octavian, and later Octavian himself, besieged him<sup>19</sup>.

Appian's account is more detailed, but it is apparent that he did not fully comprehend the manoeuvres in the campaign, and the motives that governed the various participants therein. He relates that the plan of Lucius was to advance upon Salvidienus<sup>20</sup> (who had been recalled with his six legions from his journey to Spain<sup>21</sup> and was being trailed by Asinius and Ventidius), in the hope of catching him between two fires<sup>22</sup>. Now Dio states that, when Octavian left Sentinum for Rome, τοῖς μὲν Σεντινῶν Κύντον Σαλβιδιῆνον Ῥοῦφον παρακατέλειπε<sup>23</sup>. Those who have ventured to describe the events leading up to the siege of Perugia either pass over this statement<sup>24</sup>, or understand it to mean that Salvidienus had already joined Octavian at Sentinum before the latter hastened to Rome<sup>25</sup>. But Dio adds that, as soon as Octavian left Sentinum, Furnius issued forth and pursued him for a long distance<sup>26</sup>. Is it likely that Furnius would have dared to leave his camp and the city of Sentinum unprotected, at the risk of being caught between two fires, if Salvidienus had already arrived at Sentinum? Hardly, it seems to me. We must, therefore, understand from Dio that Salvidienus, who had not yet arrived on the scene, was instructed to continue the siege of Sentinum as soon as he arrived<sup>27</sup>. The passage certainly admits of such an interpretation. Furthermore, Dio adds that Salvidienus took the city by surprise, and sacked and destroyed it<sup>28</sup>. Would Sentinum have been taken by surprise if Salvidienus had joined Octavian?

After sacking Sentinum<sup>29</sup>, Salvidienus proceeded through the Scheggia Pass in the Apennines<sup>30</sup>, down the Via Flaminia, with most of his six legions intact, and marched upon Nursia, which capitulated<sup>31</sup>. According to Appian, he was being followed by Ventidius and Pollio<sup>32</sup>. If this is so, we must assume that the two lieutenants of Antony did not interfere in the sack of Sentinum by Salvidienus and in the surrender of Nursia to him, two cities friendly to the cause of Lucius.

<sup>19</sup>8.14.1. Velleius merely states (2.74.3): Antonius pulsus undique viribus Caesaris Perusiam se contulerat.

<sup>20</sup>A few lines above (see note 16, above) Appian stated that Lucius's objective was Octavian.

<sup>21</sup>Fortunately for Octavian, Salvidienus had been delayed in various ways. At first, the lieutenants of Antony attempted to hinder his passage, but, at the agreement reached between Octavian and Lucius at Teanum, Lucius promised to instruct Asinius Pollio not to interfere with Salvidienus (Appian 5.20.80). At Placentia a mutiny of his troops further delayed Salvidienus (Dio 48.10.1). He had already crossed the Alps (Appian 5.20.80) when he was hastily recalled, but had probably not yet reached Spain (compare Appian 5.24.96, 27.105). It is difficult to believe Ferrero's statement (3.234) that Salvidienus was "... slowly returning from Gaul..."

<sup>22</sup>Appian 5.31.121. <sup>23</sup>8.13.4.

<sup>24</sup>See, for example, Ferrero, 3.234; Jung, 268, note 16.

<sup>25</sup>See, for example, Domaszewski, 1.95-96; Gardthausen, 1.201; Motte, 34. Domaszewski (96) even adds that Octavian marched to Rome with most of the army.

<sup>26</sup>We may assume, therefore, that Salvidienus's path from Gaul lay through Umbria. <sup>27</sup>8.13.6.

<sup>28</sup>Shuckburgh (96) incorrectly places the fall of Sentinum after the beginning of the siege of Perugia.

<sup>29</sup>Compare Nissen, 1.233-234, 2.375. Jung (268), followed by Domaszewski (1.95), incorrectly states that Salvidienus came down one of the North Etrurian Apennine passes. Jung fell into error because he did not know of Salvidienus's operations at Sentinum, or disregarded them.

<sup>30</sup>Dio 48.13.6. Dio does not expressly state who took Nursia, but we may safely assume that the town fell to Salvidienus, for Dio mentions its surrender directly after the sack of Sentinum, and Nursia lay in Salvidienus's path. <sup>31</sup>5.31.121.

The first move of Agrippa, who had been pursuing Lucius, evidently from the south, was to seize Sutrium<sup>33</sup>. The strategy of the move is not immediately clear. Appian states that the town was useful to Lucius, and that Agrippa, fearing that Salvidienus would be surrounded, in the rear by Ventidius and Pollio, in the van by Lucius, occupied Sutrium, hoping thus to divert Lucius's attention to himself and to permit Salvidienus to close in upon the rear of Lucius<sup>34</sup>. The plan succeeded, says Appian<sup>35</sup>. How it succeeded he does not explain. We may conjecture that Sutrium was of such importance to Lucius that, although he had passed it on his way north, he turned back now to dislodge Agrippa<sup>36</sup>. Its seizure by his foes meant to Lucius the cutting off of all communications with Rome<sup>37</sup>. Meanwhile, Salvidienus, as Agrippa had expected, and perhaps to the surprise of Lucius, appeared on the latter's rear, and thus Lucius was forced to fight his way north, harassed on two sides<sup>38</sup>.

But where were Antony's lieutenants, Ventidius and Pollio, who all this time, according to Appian, were trailing Salvidienus to prevent his advance<sup>39</sup>? My guess is that, although they probably impeded Salvidienus's progress for a distance, they never left the Gallic provinces. How otherwise are we to explain Salvidienus's unhampered destruction of Sentinum, and the fall of Nursia, and Appian's own statement that Lucius now attempted to proceed to Asinius and Ventidius<sup>40</sup>? The lieutenants of Antony in Gaul had been importuned several times by Lucius and Fulvia to march south with their legions, but they showed no enthusiasm for such a movement. They were, after all, Antony's *legati*, and their orders came from him. They did not know what his attitude toward the situation in Italy was, and were, moreover, mutually jealous and unable to agree upon a single leader<sup>41</sup>. Even during the siege of Perugia they could not be induced by Lucius and Fulvia to move from the Gallic provinces, until Lucius's position became critical. When they did come into Italy, their efforts were so sluggish that Lucius was starved into surrender almost before their very eyes<sup>42</sup>.

Surprised by Salvidienus's sudden appearance, and not daring to risk an engagement<sup>43</sup>, Lucius attempted to push his way north, with Salvidienus impeding his

<sup>33</sup>Appian 5.31.122.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibidem*.

<sup>35</sup>Appian 5.31.123 καὶ τότε μὲν, ὡς προσεδόκησεν ὁ Ἀγρίππας, ἐλύγυτο πάντα.

<sup>36</sup>Sutrium, 33 miles distant from Rome, was the key city of Etruria, and a strategic point on the Via Cassia (Livy 6.9.4 Etruriae...velut claustra). Compare Nissen, 2.355; Philipp's article Sutrium, in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie, Zweite Reihe, 4.995-996; M. L. Cameron, Old Etruria and Modern Tuscany, 291-292 (London, Methuen, 1909); George Dennis, The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, 1.63-64 (London, Murray, 1878).

<sup>37</sup>Shuckburgh, 95; W. Smith, Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, 2.1051, under the title Sutrium (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1865). Compare Jung, 268.

<sup>38</sup>Appian 5.31.123. There is no evidence for the assertion of Motte (34) and Holmes (96) that Agrippa and Salvidienus made a junction. It is not at all probable that such a junction took place.

<sup>39</sup>No one seems to question Appian's statement that Salvidienus was threatened by Ventidius and Pollio in the rear and ran the risk of being surrounded. Compare Domaszewski, 1.96; Gardthausen, 1.201; Holmes, 96; Schiller, 1.82, and note 7; Ferrero, 2.234; Motte, 33-34. Motte even speaks of an imminent invasion of Italy by Ventidius and Pollio.

<sup>40</sup>5.31.123.

<sup>41</sup>Appian 5.32.126. Compare Holmes, 96; Ferrero, 3.234.

<sup>42</sup>Appian 5.33.131. Before he entered Perugia, Lucius sent Manius, and Fulvia sent other agents, to implore aid from the legions in Gaul (Appian 5.32.128, 33.130).

<sup>43</sup>His troops consisted chiefly of recruits (Appian 5.32.127).



advance and Agrippa attacking his rear<sup>44</sup>. There have been much discussion and misunderstanding<sup>45</sup> concerning the route which Lucius took, but there is some probability, it seems to me, that he went up the Via Cassia. There were two highways which led to his goal, Cisalpine Gaul—the Via Cassia, which ran directly north, and the Via Flaminia, which ran in a northeasterly direction<sup>46</sup>. The former was the shorter route, but was used less by the Romans than was the Via Flaminia, "...the recognized military highway to the north..."<sup>47</sup>. However, when Lucius left Rome, he did not go by the Via Flaminia, because Octavian, whom he was trying to avoid, was approaching by that route. When Agrippa attacked Sutrium, on the Via Cassia, Lucius was evidently in the neighborhood. Furthermore, Appian states that, as Lucius tried to push his way north, Agrippa and Salvidienus tried to catch him in the defiles (*ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς*)<sup>48</sup>. Nissen points out<sup>49</sup> that "Die Via Cassia folgt dem Engpass der mit unmerklicher Steigung... vom innern zum südlichen Etrurien führt..." Furthermore, at Forum Cassi, eleven miles north of Sutrium, the Via Cassia runs through "...einen natürlichen Gebirgseinschnitt der so eng ist dass er früher durch eine noch stehende Mauer gesperrt werden konnte"<sup>50</sup>. The whole of Middle and South Etruria, through which the Via Cassia led<sup>51</sup>, was "...von zahllosen Schluchten durchzogen, deren Wände hunderte von Füssen <read Füssen> senkrecht aufsteigen"<sup>52</sup>. The Via Flaminia, on the contrary, does not seem to have been characterized by numerous defiles<sup>53</sup>.

Lucius proceeded north along the Via Cassia, about 60 miles, with Salvidienus north of him and Agrippa south of him, and, seeing the futility of his attempts to break through, turned aside to Perusia<sup>54</sup>, where he was

<sup>44</sup>Appian 5.31.123.

<sup>45</sup>I cannot agree with the statement of Domaszewski (96), "Er selbst < = Agrippa > sperrte Antonius in Etrurien den Weg nach Westen durch die Besetzung von Sutrium. Caesar, der Rom wieder in seine Gewalt gebracht hatte, bedrohte Antonius von Süden. Nach Osten verlegte Salvidienus ihm die Strassen nach Umbrien". Octavian did not appear until Lucius was driven to Perusia. Nor can I accept Schiller's view (1.82), "...während L. Antonius, um sich die Strasse nach Norden zu öffnen, diese Stadt < = Sutrium > belagerte, kam ihm Salvidienus in die Flanke". Lucius had probably already passed Sutrium when Agrippa occupied it. W. Drumann, *Geschichte Roms in seinem Übergange von der Republikanischen zur Monarchischen Verfassung*, Zweite Auflage, Herausgegeben von P. Groebe, 1.296, note 8 (Leipzig, Borntraeger, 1889), asserts that Agrippa was proceeding north on the Via Cassia, Ventidius and Pollio south on the same road, Salvidienus north on the Via Flaminia, Lucius north in the open country between the two roads. Holmes (96, note 1) rightly objects to this account of the routes taken, but he misunderstands Groebe when he makes him say that Agrippa's intention was to prevent Pollio and Ventidius from joining their forces; Groebe means that Agrippa's aim was to prevent Lucius's forces and the forces of Ventidius and Pollio from uniting.

<sup>46</sup>Compare Cicero, *Philippics* 12.9: Tres viae sunt ad Mutinam... a superno mari Flaminia, ab infero Aurelia, media Cassia. We may disregard here the Via Aurelia, which followed the western coast.

<sup>47</sup>T. Ashby, *The Via Flaminia*, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 11 (1921), 129. Compare Nissen, 2.313; Weiss's article *Flaminia via*, in *Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie*, 6.2493-2496.

<sup>48</sup>5.31.123. Jung (268, note 16), followed by Domaszewski (96), takes this passage to mean that Agrippa and Salvidienus prevented Lucius from going through the Apennine passes. The passage will not bear such an interpretation. Furthermore, Lucius did not even approach the Apennines.

<sup>49</sup>2.355. <sup>50</sup>Nissen, 2.344.

<sup>51</sup>Cicero, *Philippics* 12.9 *Etruriam discriminat Cassia*.

<sup>52</sup>Nissen, 1.256.

<sup>53</sup>Compare T. Ashby, *The Via Flaminia*, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 11 (1921), 125-190.

<sup>54</sup>Dio 48.14.1; Appian 5.32.124. Just above Clusium, directly west of Perusia, the Via Cassia passed between two small lakes, now called Lago di Chiusi and Lago di Montepulciano. To attempt to pass between these lakes would have been suicide for

besieged by Octavian, Salvidienus, and Agrippa, and was finally starved into surrender<sup>55</sup>.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

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## CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

### VIII

Modern Language Notes—February, Isis' Ass and the Elizabethans, George R. Potter; March, The Grete Emetreus the King of Inde, Henry B. Hinckley [a brief discussion of a source for a passage in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*]; Beowulf and the Aeneid, Tom B. Haber [a reply to a review, by P. F. Jones, of Mr. Haber's monograph, *A Comparative Study of the Beowulf and the Aeneid*]; April, Review, generally favorable, by Charles G. Osgood, of Douglas Bush, *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*; Review, favorable, by Douglas Bush, of Henry G. Lottspeich, *Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser*; Review, generally favorable, by M. W. Croll, of Lane Cooper, *The Rhetoric of Aristotle: An Expanded Translation with Supplementary Examples for Students of Composition and Public Speaking*; Review, generally favorable, by Charles G. Osgood, of Pauline Aiken, *The Influence of the Latin Elegists on English Lyric Poetry, 1600-1650, With Particular Reference to the Works of Robert Herrick*.

The Modern Language Review—January, Review, generally favorable, by Jessie Crosland, of Charles B. Lewis, *Classical Mythology and the Arthurian Romance: A Study of the Sources of Chretien de Troyes' 'Yvain' and Other Arthurian Romances*.

Modern Philology—February, Review, favorable, by W. A. C., of John C. Smock, *The Greek Element in English Words*.

The Nation—January 4, Review, generally favorable, by Ernest Boyd, of Burton Rascoe, *Titans of Literature*; January 11, "Lucrece", Joseph W. Krutch [a dramatic review of the production of André Obey's drama, *Lucrece*, translated by Thornton Wilder]; February 1, Brief review, favorable, anonymous, of Michael I. Rostovtzeff, *Out of the Past of Greece and Rome*; Brief review, generally favorable, anonymous, of D. H. Lawrence, *Etruscan Places*; February 8, "Livy's Pictured Page", E. F. Claflin [a letter defending the literary qualities of Cicero, Caesar, and Livy against the harsh criticism of Ernest Boyd in his review in the issue of January 4]; Brief review, mildly favorable, anonymous, of H. Munro Chadwick and N. K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*,

Lucius. I would conjecture, therefore, that at about Clusium Lucius turned east, off the Via Cassia, and marched the twenty-five miles to Perusia, with Lake Trasumenus to protect him on the north, and that he did this, perhaps, with the hope of reaching the Via Flaminia.

<sup>55</sup>Of the siege and the fall of Perusia the best account is in Gardthausen, 1.202-209, 2.95-98. See also Jung, 269-270; Kromayer-Weith (see note 8, above), 121-122, and Blatt 24, No. 6. The rôle of Agrippa in this war has been overestimated by a number of scholars. He was, without doubt, lower in rank than Salvidienus, Octavian's leading general. Domaszewski (95-96), Motte (33-34), and Schiller (1.83) conceive of him as director of all Octavian's forces.



- Volume I: The Ancient Literatures of Europe; March 1, Brief review, generally favorable, anonymous, of The Cambridge Ancient History, Volume IX.
- Revue des Questions Historiques—October (1932), Review, generally favorable, by M. Besnier, of André Piganiol, L'Empereur Constantin; Review, favorable, by M. Besnier, of Aug. Bailly, Jules César.
- Revue Historique—September-October (1932), Bulletin Historique: Histoire Grecque (1929-1931), P. Cloché; Review, generally favorable, by Ch. Picard, of Commandant Lefebvre des Noëttes, L'Attelage, le Cheval de Selle à travers les Âges, Contribution à l'Histoire de l'Esclavage; Review, generally favorable, by V. Flipo, of F. M. Feldhaus, Die Technik der Antike und des Mittelalters; Review, generally favorable, by Ch. Picard, of P. Lavedan, Dictionnaire Illustré de la Mythologie et des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines; November-December, Démosthène et les Finances Athéniennes de 346 à 339, Gustave Glotz; Le Palais de Minos, d'après un Ouvrage Récent, R. Joly [a discussion of Sir Arthur Evans, The Palace of Minos, Volume III]; Les Origines du Papier, André Blum; Review, favorable, by G. Contenau, of J.-G. Février, Essai sur l'Histoire Politique et Économique de Palmyre and La Religion des Palmyréniens; Review, mildly unfavorable, by Ch. Picard, of Sir Arthur Evans, The Earlier Religion of Greece in the Light of Cretan Discoveries; Review, favorable, by Paul Cloché, of A. Gitti, Clistene di Sicione e le sue Riforme: Studi sulla Storia Arcaica di Sicione; Review, favorable, by P. Cloché, of Léon Robin, Platon: Le Banquet; Review, favorable, by P. Cloché, of Albert Rivaud, Les Grands Courants de la Pensée Antique; Review, favorable, by P. Cloché, of Marjorie and N. C. B. Quennell, Everyday Things in Homeric Greece; Review, generally favorable, by Paul Vallette, of Tenney Frank, Life and Literature in the Roman Republic; Review, generally favorable, by Adrien Bruhl, of The Cambridge Ancient History, Volume VIII; Brief review, mildly favorable, by Jérôme Carcopino, of Moses Hadas, Sextus Pompey; Review, generally favorable, by Jérôme Carcopino, of Arnaldo Momigliano, L'Opera dell' Imperatore Claudio.
- The Saturday Review (London)—January 7, Brief review, favorable, anonymous, of Ellen S. Bosanquet, The Tale of Athens; January 14, Review, generally favorable, by R. A. Bell, of J. D. Beazley and Bernard Ashmole, Greek Sculpture and Painting to the End of the Hellenistic Period; February 4, Brief review, favorable, anonymous, of James Morgan, The Psychological Teaching of St. Augustine; February 25, The Greek Play at Cambridge, Shane Leslie ["The general effect of the *Oresteia* staged in the New Theatre at Cambridge last week must be admitted as surpassing"].
- The Saturday Review of Literature—March 11, Brief review, favorable, by <C. P. > R<ollins>, of B. L. Ullman, Ancient Writing and Its Influence; March 18, Review, mildly unfavorable, by Hetty Goldman, of Babette Deutsch, Mask of Silenus: A Novel About Socrates.
- "Scientia"—March, Review, favorable, by G. de Giuli, of M. Gentile, I Fondamenti Metafisici della Morale di Seneca; Review, uncritical, by Gino Loria, of H. Hasse und H. Scholz, Die Grundlagenkrise der Griechischen Mathematik; Review, generally favorable, by G. Seregni, of G. Devoto, Gli Antichi Italici.
- Studies in Philology—January, *Concilia Deorum* from Homer to Milton, Mason Hammond [the article takes its start from Claudian, In Rufinum 1.25-117. "In the composition of this Infernal *Concilium*, Claudian has not only drawn on his predecessors, notably Virgil, but he has likewise contributed to certain later poets, especially Milton"].
- The Times Literary Supplement (London)—January 5, Review, favorable, of James Morgan, The Psychological Teaching of St. Augustine; Review, qualifiedly favorable, of J. W. Mackail, The Odyssey Translated in Verse (revised edition); Brief review, favorable, of Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Volume X; Brief review, generally unfavorable, of E. Powys Mathers, The Amores of P. Ovidius Naso, Newly Translated; Brief review, generally favorable, of A. E. Taylor, Socrates; January 19, Brief review, favorable, of William Kingsland, The Great Pyramid in Fact and Theory; Brief review, generally unfavorable, of E. M. Cox, Sappho: The Text Arranged with Translations, an Introduction, and Notes; Brief review, very favorable, of B. L. Ullman, Ancient Writing and Its Influence; Brief review, generally favorable, of J. F. Dobson, Ancient Education and Its Meaning to Us; January 26, Review, uncritical, of Martin P. Nilsson, The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology; Long review, mildly favorable, of H. Munro Chadwick and N. K. Chadwick, The Growth of Literature, Volume I; Brief review, generally favorable, of Rendel Harris, Justin Martyr and Menander; Brief review, generally favorable, of John M. O'Hara, Hellas the Immortal: Translations with an Introduction; February 2, Review, generally favorable, of Rebecca West, St. Augustine; Review, favorable, of F. L. Lucas, Ariadne [a narrative poem]; Review, mildly unfavorable, of J. C. Lawson, The Agamemnon of Aeschylus; Review, unfavorable, of George Thomson, Aeschylus: The Prometheus Bound; Brief review, favorable, of Theodor Mommsen, Römische Geschichte [an abridgment of the well-known history]; February 9, Review, mildly favorable, of Lionel W. Lyde, A Patchwork from Pindar; Review, favorable, of Jean Guittou, Le Temps et l'Éternité chez Plotin et Saint Augustin; February 16, review, generally favorable, of F. M. Cornford, Before and After Socrates; Review, mildly favorable, of Frank and Harriet Wragg Elgee, The Archaeology of Yorkshire; Brief review, favorable, of H. Gordon Harris, Postage Stamps and Greek Mythology; February 23, Review, favorable, of Robert Faesi, Spittellers Weg und Werk; Review, favorable, of D. H. Lawrence, Etruscan Places; Review, favorable, of Hetty Goldman, Excavations at Eutresis in Boeotia; Review, mildly favorable, of Ellen Bosanquet, The Tale of Athens; March 2, Review, favorable, of Lord Raglan, Jocasta's Crime;

Review, favorable, of T. A. Sinclair, *Hesiod: Works and Days*; Brief review, favorable, of Harold Peake, *Early Steps in Human Progress* [all these reviews are anonymous].

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JOHN W. SPAETH, JR.

### THE CAVE OF BATS

In the *Odyssey* 24.5-9 we read of the ghosts of the suitors, who are led down to Hades by Hermes with his golden rod. Mr. T. E. Shaw ("Lawrence of Arabia") thus translates this passage in his recent version of the *Odyssey* (The *Odyssey* of Homer, Newly Translated into English Prose. New York: Oxford University Press, 1932):

... By a wave of it <the golden rod> he had them afoot and following him with such thin cries as bats use in the fastnesses of their mysterious cave, whenever one falls squeaking from the clustered swarms that hang downward from the rocky roof. So they flocked after, weakly piping....<sup>1</sup>

This passage one recalls as he reads Mr. William Beebe's account of the bats in a limestone cave of Malaysia, in his *Pheasant Jungles* (Blue Ribbon Books, New York City [undated]). He says in part (174):

From the black gulf ahead came, now and then, low distant mumblings, mingled with the shrill squeaks of the bats, and into this vocal void I now plunged.... The sighing, gibbering, squeaking spirits or devils were there in multitudes, brushing my face or fighting among themselves as they clung to the slippery fissures high, high overhead....

Passages, too, of *Aeneid* 6 are inevitably recalled as one reads in Mr. Beebe's description of the cave such phrases as those on page 173: "...this durable darkness... the underworld of hateful, bleached things, of sunless, hopeless blackness". Compare Vergil, *Aeneid*

<I think it worth while to give the translation of this passage by Professor A. T. Murray, in The Loeb Classical Library: "...with this he roused and led the spirits, and they followed gibbering. And as in the innermost recess of a wondrous cave bats flit about gibbering, when one has fallen from off the rock from the chain in which they cling to one another, so these went with him gibbering, and Hermes, the Helper, led them down the dank ways..." C. K.>

6.268 Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram....  
462... loca senta situ... noctemque profundam, 534...  
tristes sine sole domos, loca turbida....

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### FELICITAS

When in his speech for the Manilian Law Cicero discusses the qualities a general must have to win fullest success, he enumerates four qualities, saying (28),... *Ego enim sic existimo, in summo imperatore quattuor has res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem.... Felicitas*, or good fortune, is discussed in its turn (47-48) as a matter in the power of the gods, and by them especially bestowed upon Pompey.

Samuel Pepys, in his *Diary*<sup>1</sup>, under date of September 31, 1664, says of a general of his time: "... Prince Rupert, I hear this day, is to go to command the fleet going to Guinny against the Dutch. I doubt few will be pleased with his going, being accounted an unhappy man". The editor's note on the word "unhappy" reads: "*i. e.* unlucky, or unfortunate, *infelix*, now obsolete in this sense".

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### BARTER

In these days when so many parts of our country have resorted to the primitive method of direct exchange of goods without the use of money and when the word 'barter' has again become familiar, it is interesting to note the comments made by Pliny the Elder (33.6) concerning the corrupting influence of gold (*aurum ad perniciem vitae repertum*), and his remarks on the simpler, finer earlier days when barter was the rule. Note especially these words: "...quanto feliciore aevo, cum res ipsae permutabantur inter sese, sicut et Troianis temporibus factitatum Homero credi convenit!"

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

B. L. ULLMAN

<sup>1</sup>I quote from the Everyman Edition, by Richard Garnett (New York, Dutton, 1906). See I.514.

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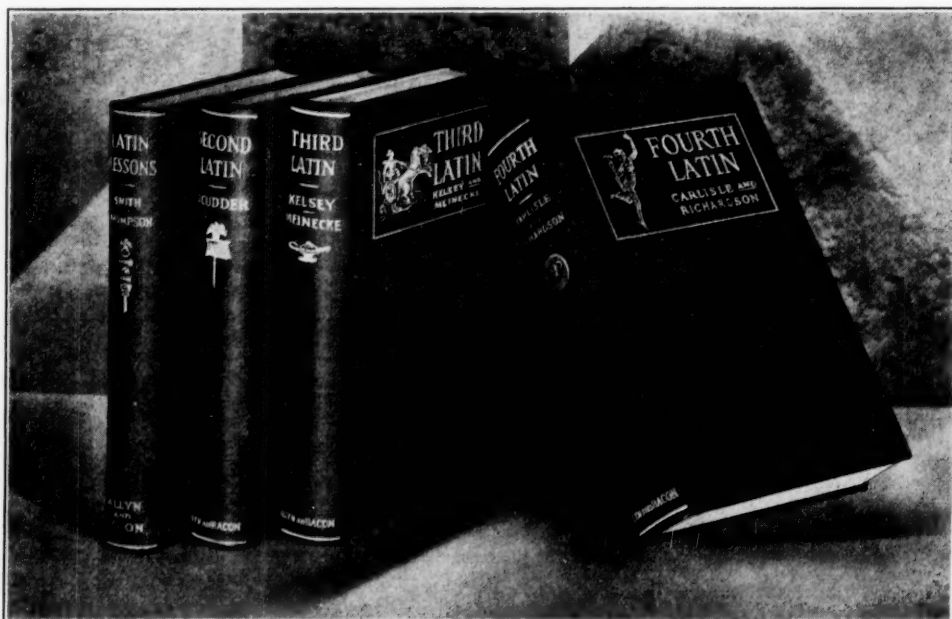
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